197 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the 191 other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal [526] of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch. After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

857 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the 513 result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [993] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children [562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and samisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [998] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [982] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the [993] spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

[114] [805] 2 According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility.

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.*

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings.

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the
● [524] length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines
872 already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys
876 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout
858 of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment.

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets.

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles.

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!"

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

868 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not
296 long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

IMITATIVE PLAY

857 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play
● 524 situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts, "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

calling, "Good day." She hurries forward and finds a 5-year-old boy standing at her door. "Want anything today?" asks the boy, unloading a bunch of grass. The "mother" smiles, amused, then she sorts through the grass and hands over some "money" and thanks the "peddler" as he goes on his way to the next house. The peddler turns out to be the same boy who was the robber. When his peddling bores him, he returns to robbing and finally leaves the scene entirely. As the "mother" returns to her kitchen to work toward her next meal, one of the "children" returns "home" with a bunch of flowers. As it is the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, she hurries to put them into a small empty bottle. She places the flowers on the family shrine shelf along with "incense sticks." This done, she goes out to the "store."

After "marketing," preparations for the next meal begin; but as she works intently, there is a call. "Good day, excuse me . . ." calls a voice in high-pitched tones which are the essence of politeness and femininity. As visitor greets hostess, the etiquette of adult life is enacted with much finesse. "Tea" is brought in by an "older daughter," and polite talk is exchanged over it. Sitting quite properly on her knees, the hostess "bows her guest" out of the house as she has seen her own mother do countless times. And so it goes, day after day, little girls who never seem to tire of imitating their mothers until they approach the age of 10, when unmistakable signs of self-consciousness affect their behavior.

In other respects, too, the play situation is often turned into a valuable learning experience. These are play activities which are in reality beginnings of assuming responsibility toward economic contributions for the home. A kindergarten child follows his older sibling or mother down to the beach. The trip is made to collect seaweed for the pigs, but the young child just goes along for recreation. The young child, unable to discriminate between the different kinds of seaweed, drops into the basket whatever she picks up. She "plays at collecting seaweed." The older sibling silently picks out the undesirable variety and discards it. Many times the portion the younger child has collected is rejected, but before long, through observation and imitation, he learns to pick the particular kind of seaweed which is desired. The older sibling in many cases does not attempt to instruct by saying, "Pick the green, smooth kind that grows thick on the rocks." Instead, he may just nod or shake his head if the younger brings forward some for approval or disapproval.

On one gathering trip in the fields, a 10-year-old boy devised a game which actually was instructive in nature. He was accompanied by his two male cousins, 3 and 4 years old. They were hunting for

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terri-
866 ble if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability
857 of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagree-
156 ments crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the sur-
524 prising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they call "parent and child game."

An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game.

Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later.

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere

Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.